

## Not playing properly: amateurism as generic choice in three postpunk case studies: the Slits, Lora Logic, and the Raincoats

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**Not Playing Properly: Amateurism as Generic Choice in Three Post-Punk Case Studies --  
the Slits, Lora Logic, and the Raincoats**

At London's Hammersmith Odeon, on October 22 and 23, 1976, New York punk-poet Patti Smith played her second round of London concerts. In her review of the performance for the weekly UK music magazine *Melody Maker*, critic Maureen Paton noted how Smith's appearance was especially captivating for the female members of the audience:

A lot of women present clearly got off on the idea of having someone up there to identify with (an attitude with which I have a great deal of sympathy), and there were more yells of encouragement from women than I've ever heard at any other concerts.<sup>1</sup>

The fact there were so many "yells of encouragement from women" in the audience demonstrates how exceptional Smith's performance must have seemed. Here was a woman who derived her stage persona from channelling male icons such as Doors-singer Jim Morrison and poet Arthur Rimbaud, and who was not only participating in the hitherto male-dominated field of rock, but was actually leading a rock group. Smith was, in other words, a rock musician with whom the women attending the Hammersmith concert could finally identify.

In the rest of her review, however, Paton wrote scathingly about the way Smith appeared to rely too much on her exceptional status as a woman in rock, in lieu of displaying conventional musical skill.

But it's precisely this kind of freak originality that Smith exploits so mercilessly by playing the rock and roll hero. The guitar that she hadn't even bothered to learn to play

properly was toted around the stage as a symbol, nothing more. And that just isn't good enough.<sup>2</sup>

By criticising Smith's "freak originality" Paton thus implied that Smith was using her gender—her exceptional status in the rock field—as her primary means of winning approval. Paton also appears to have been judging Smith according to mid-1970s classic rock criteria in which notions of musical virtuosity (that is, a display of conventional musical skill) were prized and does not appear to have been *au fait* with the emerging enthusiasm for the self-consciously amateurish, DIY approach that characterised punk, wherein you didn't have to be able to "play properly."

In fact, Paton's review of the Smith concert appeared only months after Caroline Coon's often-cited *Melody Maker* article "Rebels Against the System," in which Coon christened punk and championed its "anyone can do it" approach. Coon suggested punk defined itself in opposition to virtuoso instrumentalists and "gentlemen rockers" such as Yes and ELP, and instead "stripped [rock] down to its bare bones" by using minimal equipment and performing fast songs with no solos and "no indulgent improvisations."<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Allan Jones' article, "But Does Nihilism Constitute Revolt?," which appeared underneath Coon's two-page punk special, referred explicitly to the Patti Smith Band as a punk group, and argued that "Smith and the like" were part of a lineage of groups from the 1960s who prioritized "physical energy and passion" over "technique or musical competence."<sup>4</sup> Thus Paton's review that framed Smith as a rock poseur appeared concurrently with pro-punk articles such as those by Coon and Jones.

Paton's opinion was, however, not atypical in its assessment of women performers in guitar-based groups in the mid- to late-1970s rock press. While it is true that punk and post-punk's irreverence for conventional musicianship and gender normativity created a space in which women artists could

participate,<sup>5</sup> certain critics evidently ran against this “anyone-can-do-it” ethos and implied that it wasn’t “good enough” for women to be on stage, making music, and participating in the new wave/punk moment; they had to be able to “play properly.” This suggests at least two things: first, it demonstrates the inchoateness of the punk aesthetic at the time; and secondly, it also demonstrates an internalisation of the idea that legitimacy in rock rests on one’s grasp of conventional skill or idiomatic technique. Indeed, writer and musician Helen Reddington has highlighted this exact double bind, stressing how notions of punk amateurism worked to both advantage and disadvantage female instrumentalists: on the one hand, punk amateurism offered women who lacked confidence an opportunity to participate in rock; but on the other hand, punk’s rejection of conventional musical skill and celebration of amateur aesthetics left women musicians vulnerable to the critical gaze of both male and female “gatekeepers” in the rock media, as illustrated by Paton’s review of Smith’s Odeon gig.<sup>6</sup>

In this article, then, I am interested in exploring the double bind highlighted by Reddington concerning punk’s amateurish aesthetic as it relates to three female post-punk acts in particular—the Slits, Lora Logic, and the Raincoats. Much in the way Marie Thompson has recommended caution when applying the terminology of “noise” to women’s music-making in electronic and experimental genres (owing to its positive and negative valences),<sup>7</sup> while analysing the music of these three post-punk acts I similarly became distrustful of punk history’s emphasis on amateurism as an “in” for women performers. Indeed, Simon Frith and Howard Horne have suggested that punk’s close associations with the fashion departments in the UK’s art colleges may have contributed to the increased participation of women more than the amateur aesthetic.<sup>8</sup> The extent to which (post-) punk women “could play” was, however, an important discursive thread in the 1970s-music media and is, of course, an important aspect of punk aesthetics for both male and female bands. I am therefore also interested in the way the status of amateurism mutates according to the rules of musical genre, and wish to highlight the ambiguity between

amateurism as a generic choice and performative mode (in the Butlerian sense), and amateurism as unfamiliarity with certain playing conventions and techniques, as it relates to women performers in particular.

My methodology combines a close analysis of the late-1970s media discourse (primarily in Britain) with detailed musical analyses that are designed to illuminate—or even “transcribe”—what were perceived by the 1970s media as both gendered and amateurish characteristics. The article comprises five main sections. First, I discuss punk’s aesthetics of amateurism in relation to second-wave feminism, specifically the extent to which the defiant identities offered by punk expressed some of the tenets of second-wave feminism. But I also demonstrate how post-punk women chose to push against the “feminist” label. In the subsequent three sections I analyse specific songs by the three acts individually, beginning with the Slits. In all three cases I highlight aspects of their musical composition and performance that were considered both amateurish and gendered by the media, focusing specifically on their approaches to rhythm, with a view to prompting reflection on how media discourse produces criteria for cultural appraisal and understanding. In the final section, I look outside of the (post-) punk paradigm to draw lateral comparisons with other mid-1970s female musicians who operated in different discursive spaces, namely hard rock and pop, to assess how the non-availability of an amateurish aesthetic restricted non-punk performers in both a musical and gendered sense.

### ***Punk Defiance and Second-Wave Feminism***

In spite of—or perhaps because of—what Paton referred to as her “freak originality,” Patti Smith inspired some of post-punk’s most well-known female musicians. For Ana da Silva, vocalist in the London-based group the Raincoats, Smith’s first London performance at the Chalk Farm Roundhouse in May 1976 was particularly captivating. Da Silva was impressed with “Smith’s defiance,” the fact that she spat a flower out onto the floor, and appeared not to be “taking shit from anyone.”<sup>9</sup> According to the

Slits' biographer Zoë Street Howe, Smith's performance at the Roundhouse was on a par with the Sex Pistols' now-legendary concert at Manchester's Lesser Free Trade Hall in the sense that "[everyone] who was anyone on the early London punk scene was there."<sup>10</sup> Indeed, the Sex Pistols themselves were also a prominent influence on Slits guitarist Viv Albertine:

... having seen the Pistols, *I knew*; I immediately got it. It wasn't about how well you play; it was about how you've got something to say that no-one else is saying. And I utterly got that: otherwise I'd never have thought in a million years of buying a guitar because I couldn't play, and I'd never played, and I didn't consider myself a musician.<sup>11</sup>

The irreverent attitude of acts such as Smith and the Sex Pistols therefore appealed to prominent post-punk women such as da Silva and Albertine. In both accounts, the women emphasise the sense of freedom they felt on seeing Smith and the Sex Pistols perform, highlighting the performers' irreverence ("not taking shit") and originality (having "something to say"). What these role models represented, then, was an opportunity to experiment with performing aggression and irreverence. As Mavis Bayton has highlighted, furthermore, women had hitherto been left out of the kinds of circles in which musicians typically acquire rock techniques, but the kind of music played by Smith and the Sex Pistols didn't require such techniques and therefore presented an opportunity to work within the rock idiom but without the prerequisite knowledge.<sup>12</sup>

Bayton has also suggested that punk's DIY aesthetic was not the only factor that contributed to the increased number of female musicians but that second-wave feminism exerted a significant influence as well because it encouraged women to move into hitherto male-dominated terrain and to assume hitherto male-associated positions.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, this assumption of new identities in the form of defiant

musical performances may be interpreted as an expression of some of the tenets of second-wave feminism. Along these lines, Simon Reynolds and Joy Press describe the women musicians of the post-punk era specifically as the “demystification” set.<sup>14</sup> This group comprised (but was not limited to) the Slits, the Raincoats, Au Pairs and Delta 5, most of whom sung about—or “demystified”—hitherto taboo subjects such as sex, menstruation, female masturbation, being followed home, rape, eating disorders, domestic life, and anxieties about physical appearances.<sup>15</sup> The open exploration of such topics, the notion that women’s personal lives were political, was of course one of second-wave feminism’s fundamental ideas. To add to this politically-informed so-called “demystification,” the assumption of new positions as rock instrumentalists (guitarists and drummers specifically), and the attendant practice of performing aggression and irreverence, may too have been inspired by second-wave feminism.

However, it is worth noting that interviews with members of both the Raincoats and the Slits, especially those that date from the 1970s and early 1980s, reveal the extent to which these two groups chose to distance themselves from the feminist movement as they perceived it. When asked about the prospect of the Raincoats playing a then-forthcoming “Women in Rock” concert at which every band was either an all-female band or had a least one female member, da Silva said she had “mixed feelings” about the prospect, stating she did not “like the idea of putting male and female groups into separate categories.” Rather, da Silva valued the idea of “[showing] people that there are a lot of girls in rock bands,” but also stressed that she “[hated] all this feminist idea.”<sup>16</sup> Having recently returned from giving concerts in Poland, she also remarked that audiences in the UK seemed to be comparatively more fixated on the idea of gender than those abroad:

... straight after we had done a gig in Reading [UK] the other night, a girl came up to us and said, “You were quite good for a girls’ band.” I mean either you’re good or you’re

bad, it shouldn't matter what sex you are. I really loved the way that Poly Styrene of X-Ray Spex shaved off all her hair as a kind of anti-glamour stand. Glamour has always been an over-exaggerated cliché, anyway.<sup>17</sup>

Da Silva's reflection on the Raincoats' concert in Reading, as well as her disregard for what she referred to as "all this feminist idea," raises two important issues. First, in a similar vein to Paton's comments about the 1976 Smith concert, the female audience member's surprise that the Raincoats' were "quite good for girls" is an illustration of how female audience members, like critics, had internalised rock discourse's mistrust of women's playing abilities. Secondly, the fact that da Silva admired musician Poly Styrene's "anti-glamour" head-shaving reinforces the argument that post-punk women were invested in the idea of "demystification," which can indeed be construed as an implicitly feminist stance that asserts the personal as political, even if the Raincoats choose to reject "all this feminist idea."

The reasons why the Raincoats chose to distance themselves from the "feminist idea" may have been a result of perceived problems with feminism or the women's movement, particularly when viewed from an intersectional perspective that takes issues of class, race, and sexuality into consideration. Punk and post-punk's well-documented connection with reggae and other non-rock, avant-garde genres introduce complexities that challenge the perceived straight-forward binary gender politics of the feminist movement; reggae introduces the issue of race and class, as well as misogyny and homophobia; and the aesthetic politics of the avant-garde have the idea of shock, non-conformity, and undermining of the status quo at their core. As Reddington has illustrated in particular, some post-punk women found the feminist movement too middle class,<sup>18</sup> an idea that is also echoed by Sherrie Tucker, who has noted the extent to which the women's movement in the US came under attack during the 1970s and 1980s from



“women of color, working-class women, lesbians, and other women excluded from the narrow confines of white middle-class US women’s experience.”<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, many female musicians on the punk scene saw the punk men as close allies, as boyfriends, as friends, and as musical mentors.<sup>20</sup> Performers such as da Silva, then, may have been suspicious of what she perceived as the feminist movement’s attempt to promote or entrench gender segregation. Allegiances with male allies in the punk scene arguably offered an alternative expression of feminism against the wide-spread interpretation of the movement.

Certain public stereotypes about the feminist movement may have also dissuaded bands such as the Raincoats from explicitly allying themselves with it. In the UK, publications such as *Spare Rib*, the UK’s longest-running feminist magazine, founded in 1972, provided a point of reference for contemporary understandings of feminism. According to Joanne Hollows, *Spare Rib* adopted a stricter socialist-feminist identity after 1975 and defined itself in opposition to lifestyle choices that its contributors considered not feminist, such as participation in domestic consumerism.<sup>21</sup> Citing the work of Krista Cowman, Deborah Withers has highlighted how *Spare Rib*’s histories of feminism presented a restricted view owing to the aesthetic demands of the publication; the small columns restricted the amount of information one could provide. Withers also notes the BBC television series *Shoulder to Shoulder* as a mainstream depiction of the women’s suffrage movement available to audiences in the 1970s.<sup>22</sup> According to Debra Baker Beck, the women’s movement in the US in particular “was basically ignored by the mainstream press with the exception of a few high-profile incidents such as the protest of the 1968 Miss America pageant,” from which the image of the feminist as a “bra-burner” emerged. According to Beck, “a few protest participants did throw some bras into a trash can. However, no lingerie was singed.”<sup>23</sup> In addition to resisting the feminist movement’s perceived middle-class associations and potential gender segregation, then, musicians such as da Silva may have also been

reacting to the mainstream media's depictions of the feminist movement as staunchly anti-consumerist as in *Spare Rib* or bra-burning according to the widespread clichés generated by the US media.

The Slits were also keen to assert their disregard for the feminist movement or at least the label "feminism." In a 1977 interview with the band, music journalist Kris Needs introduced the topic of gender with the following idea: "There've been girl members in male groups but never before has a group of girls like this come along and threatened the male domination of rock." However, Needs continued, "the Slits are determined not to get involved with the feminist women's lib stance," noting that the band had recently turned down an interview with *Spare Rib*.<sup>24</sup> The band's lead guitarist, Albertine, declared outright, "We don't want to do all that feminist stuff." And, echoing da Silva's resistance to the perceived male-female segregation, Albertine argued that the kind of feminism purveyed by *Spare Rib* was "discrimination" since the magazine "shouldn't have just girl groups in there" and compared *Spare Rib* to "those yank magazines" that have the "girlie issue."<sup>25</sup>

Therefore, from the Slits' perspective, the problem with explicitly feminist-labelled events and publications was less to do with being pro-equality, but more to do with the idea of what the band perceived as entrenching the already-in-place segregation between male musicians and female musicians. The US publications with gender-segregated issues, and magazines such as *Spare Rib*, arguably served to further embed the exceptional status that women rock musicians were accorded at the time by both fans and critics. Furthermore, Albertine's anxiety about "yank magazines" that published a "girlie issue" highlights a possible tension between UK and US presentations of gender in the music industry, one that conflicted with her valuing of male-female allegiances.

Like the Raincoats, however, the Slits' overall attitude in their songs and in interviews accorded with feminist principles. For example, they openly criticised the "conditioning" effect that teen magazines had on young women, and they took a dim view of the kind of "typical guy who wants to

have the woman under his thumb like his housewife and all that.”<sup>26</sup> Therefore, even though both the Slits and the Raincoats resisted the labels “feminist” and “women’s lib,” and were sceptical of all-female rock events and publications, the kinds of principles or ideas that their songs communicated suggested a broadly feminist sensibility. These women were most likely reacting to a public stereotype about what feminism was, not the movement’s aims or theoretical concerns.

***The Slits: From Palmolive to Budgie, from Punk to Post-Punk***

Kris Needs, the journalist cited above who interviewed the Slits about their feminist leanings (or lack thereof), was one of the Slits’ biggest media proponents. His features on the Slits in the monthly UK music magazine *ZigZag* followed the band from their earliest incarnations until at least the release of their first record, *Cut*, in the summer of 1979. Needs’ writing reflected an awareness of the extent to which the Slits may have seemed like a “novelty” as an all-women group the punk/rock genre. He also chose to depict the Slits’ presence on the new wave/punk scene as something that had the potential to “threaten the male domination of rock.”<sup>27</sup> The opening commentaries to his interviews with the band were always enthusiastic, and yet he also seemed to overcompensate for the fact the Slits were (in their earliest days) an all-female group.<sup>28</sup> In a description reminiscent of Paton’s disappointment that Smith relied on her “freak originality,” Needs wrote in 1978:

The Slits are out there on their own, proving almost singlehandedly that girls can form a group and play hard, vital music without relying on their attributes to get away with musical murder.<sup>29</sup>

Anticipating possible dismissal on the grounds of the group’s gender, Needs reassured readers that the Slits “can play” and do not “get away with musical murder.” Needs’ insistence that the Slits play

“hard music” could also be interpreted as participating in what Norma Coates has called the “technology” that “reinforces and reinscribes” the idea that rock is a masculine genre. Coates uses the word “technology” in the Foucauldian sense to describe the systems and processes through which power replicates itself, referring specifically to the hegemony of the masculine encoding of the rock genre.<sup>30</sup> It could be argued, in other words, that Needs was using the word “hard” in a way that is comparable to using the word “rock” as a verb (as in, “these girls rock”) and was therefore implying, just in case anyone was worried, that the Slits can play as “hard” as men. The word “hard” also implies a degree of physical strength and stamina that may be assumed to be lacking in female musicians (especially female drummers) not to mention the stereotypical images of male virility that the word “hard” also evokes.

In addition to highlighting the Slits’ tacit accordance with the male-gendered expectations of rock (playing “hard, vital music”) and thereby abating the (male) reader’s inclination to dismiss them, Needs also drew attention to the Slits’ gender by noting their ability to compose “strong, personal songs.” As Bonnie Gordon has argued in her work on 1990s singer-songwriter Tori Amos, the idea that women are more inclined to write personal songs has meant that the media has often given female song writers the (negative) label “confessional,” a label that not only alludes to the emotional and introspective content of a song by a female composer, but also subtly criticises an approach to song writing that provides “too much information” about the kinds of issues mentioned above (including menstruation, masturbation, sex, rape, and so on).<sup>31</sup> The vocalisation of such topics can, furthermore, be considered as participating in a broadly feminist political agenda; Needs’ description of the Slits’ music as “personal” may have also been a reference to the “personal is political” slogan associated with second-wave feminism. While Amos’s so-called confessional style obviously post-dates the punk and post-punk era by some years, it is worth bearing in mind the extent to which personal and autobiographical song writing had been pinned to earlier 1970s acts such as Carol King and Joni Mitchell.

In addition to highlighting the “strong, personal” quality of the Slits songs, Needs also discussed the Slits’ musicianship in such a way that exemplifies the kind of double bind that punk’s amateurish aesthetic presented for female musicians of the era. Even though Needs was for the most part positive about the Slits’ presence on the new wave/punk scene, his comments about the band’s grasp of the rock idiom also appear to have been gendered. He remarked, for example, “you know they can improve, which they are in leaps and bounds when their equipment works and the sound is right,” and concluded his interview with, “What the Slits need is their own sound mixer, who knows the songs and can get the balance which’ll bring out the best in the songs.”<sup>32</sup> The Slits were most likely not the only (post-) punk band of the mid- to late 1970s whose live concerts were besmirched on account of their poor sound. Although well intended, and perhaps redolent of the kind of male mentoring discussed by both Reddington and Albertine, Needs’ comments also have a tone of condescension, especially given the way in which women have traditionally felt alienated from the technical side of music production, and given that the “sound mixer” was likely to have been a “sound man.” As Bayton has suggested with regard to the comparative dearth of female electric guitarists in the history of popular music, women instrumentalists have often been affected by “the ‘black-box-with-chrome-knobs’ syndrome,” owing to their lack of familiarity with and access to certain kinds of sound equipment, as well as the jargon that often unnecessarily mystifies such “boxes.”<sup>33</sup> It is possible that the Slits knew that the sound at their live performances was bad but perhaps did not have the necessary jargon or confidence needed in order to request for it to be changed.<sup>34</sup> Having said that, Needs reports that the Slits’ performances would sometimes “screech to a halt” because their lead singer, Ari Up, “can’t hear the guitar,” which is about as technical as anyone ever is when asking for the balance to be adjusted during a live performance.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, this was punk; bad sound *is* the aesthetic.

By suggesting that the Slits “can improve” in “leaps and bounds” Needs was also highlighting the Slits’ (lack of) skill as musicians. Their drummer, Palmolive (Paloma McLardy), was reported to have been playing “high-speed metronomic jungle drums” but significantly had not “been playing for more than a year.” Similarly, the group’s bassist, Tessa Pollitt, had only “learnt the bass two weeks before.”<sup>36</sup> By noting the short amount of time that Palmolive and Pollitt had been playing their instruments Needs could be interpreted as doing two things: either he was foregrounding an essential characteristic of punk, its conspicuous amateurism; or he may have been apologising for the Slits’ shaky musicianship. As Reddington has suggested, even though amateurism was a characteristic of punk music for both male and female musicians, in the women’s bands it was either more conspicuous or interpreted negatively.<sup>37</sup>

Notably Palmolive, whose signature drumming was an important characteristic of the Slits’ early sound, left the group before the band had signed to Island Records and recorded their debut LP, *Cut*, in the summer of 1979. A male drummer known as Budgie (Peter Edward Clarke) replaced Palmolive. Although Palmolive purportedly left for political reasons—feeling more at home with the small label ethos of the neighbouring Raincoats, whom she joined after she left the Slits—Palmolive’s drumming was not, according to Needs, “up to the increasingly stringent demands imposed on it by the Slits’ wildly rhythmic new songs.” After asserting that Budgie was “Obviously ... technically better than Palmolive,” Needs asked the remaining members, “but do you reckon he’s made a lot of difference to the band?” Both Up and Albertine affirmed that Budgie had made a “musical” difference to the band in the sense that they were able to “experiment more” because “he [could] keep the beat.”<sup>38</sup>

What is interesting here is the way in which Needs’ framing of Palmolive’s involvement with and then departure from the Slits presents something of a paradox. On the one hand, the Slits were part of a genre (punk) that was characterised by the way in which notions of conventional musicianship were thrown into question, as evidenced by Albertine’s enthusiasm for the fact the Sex Pistols were not a

virtuoso rock group. On the other hand, both Needs and the remaining members of the Slits considered Palmolive's limited musical capabilities a restriction and she was eventually replaced. Furthermore, in the case of the Slits specifically, the dynamics of musical skill are gendered in such a way that may reproduce essentialist ideas about the difference between male and female musicianship in the rock idiom: Palmolive was replaced by a (more competent) male drummer.<sup>39</sup> This change of personnel from Palmolive to Budgie, from female drummer to male drummer, also coincided with a change of genre for the Slits, from the conspicuous simplicity and amateurism of punk, to a more polished, complex, studio-based style of post-punk.

The difference between the two drummers' playing styles can be illustrated by analysing two different performances of what is ostensibly the same song: "Newtown," recorded with Palmolive for a 1977 session on John Peel's BBC Radio 1 show,<sup>40</sup> and recorded again with Budgie for *Cut*, their 1979 LP. Up's vocal melody is effectively the same in both performances, as is the basic idea for the backing vocals. But most of the other aspects of the song have changed. On the LP version, produced by Dennis Bovell, the texture is enriched with the addition of occasional organ and piano parts. The LP version also includes sampled-sounds, including (what sounds like) the shaking of a box of matches, the striking of a match and dropping a spoon, all of which accord with the song's overall message, which equates innocuous-seeming pleasures (such as reading the newspaper and following a football team) with getting a heroin fix. These sounds are also sampled in such a way that they become part of the song's new rhythmic fabric; the shaking of the box of matches and the striking of a match function as additional percussion lines. Albertine's guitar part is also quite different, having switched from playing mostly power chords in the 1977 Peel session to playing single, high-register punches on the second half of beat four in every other measure on the LP version.

One of the most striking aspects of the song that has changed, however, is the rhythmic groove. The pitches of the bass line are the same in both the 1977 and 1979 versions but the bass line on the 1977 version is a continuously looping A-minor pentatonic two-measure phrase that awkwardly obscures the song's sense of rhythm because beat three of measure two could almost be perceived as beat one of measure two owing to the way the phrase begins and ends with the repetition of the same two pitches, C-A; in other words, it almost sounds like a measure of four followed by a measure of two (see Ex. 1.1). By contrast Pollitt turns her bass part in the 1979 version into a line that progresses additively; the line has been broken up so that a quarter note is added every two measures, beginning with C in measure one then adding C-A in measure three, and so on and so forth (see Ex. 1.2). On the 1979 version the bass line is therefore not heard in its entirety until Up's vocal line comes in at approximately 0:22.

**Ex. 1.1** The drums, percussion, electric guitar and bass part to the 1977 John Peel version of the Slits' song "Newtown" with Palmolive on drums, mm. 1-9. The arrows indicate the places where the drummer and bassist are speeding up.



The image displays three systems of musical notation, each representing a different performance of a song. Each system consists of four staves: Electric Guitar, Bass Guitar, Drum, and Drum Set. The time signature is 4/4. The first system shows a simple bass line and a drum pattern with a continuous sixteenth-note line. The second system shows a more complex bass line and a drum pattern with a continuous sixteenth-note line. The third system shows a more complex bass line and a drum pattern with a continuous sixteenth-note line. The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

The drumming in the two performances is also very different, and in the 1979 version, the band and Bovell left more space at the beginning of the song in order to foreground the drums and the sampling. As Example 1.1 illustrates, Palmolive favours alternating between the floor-tom plus kick drum and snare drum (a quarter-note each and then two eighth-notes each), although her drum part is complicated by the sound of continuous sixteenth notes (emanating from an unclear, drum-like source) that produce an additional percussive line, indicated here on the third staff (Ex. 1.1). Budgie’s drumming on the LP version, however, is more syncopated and intricate. His part includes off beats on the hi-hat and a snare part (with the snare disengaged) that involves more elaborate subdivisions and more dexterity owing to the use of “ghost” notes (see Ex. 1.2). The 1979 version with Budgie also has a

stronger reggae character than the 1977 version with Palmolive. In fact, Needs noted how Budgie's drumming gave the band "a new rhythmic treatment" that brought the group "galloping much closer to the girls' beloved reggae."<sup>41</sup> Not only is Budgie's drumming in this song more redolent of the reggae style, but it is also more in time, since Palmolive and Pollitt tend to speed up on the eighth-note passages in the 1977 version (as indicate by the arrows over the eighth notes in Ex. 1.1).

**Ex. 1.2** The drum and bass parts to be the beginning of the album version of the Slits' song "Newtown" with Budgie on drums.<sup>42</sup>

The musical notation for Ex. 1.2 is presented in two systems. The first system includes the Bass Guitar and Drum Set parts. The Bass Guitar part is in 4/4 time and begins with a single eighth note followed by a rest. The Drum Set part features a complex rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes, including accents. The second system includes the Bass and Dr. (Drum) parts. The Bass part consists of a single eighth note followed by a rest. The Dr. part features a complex rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes, including accents.

The question, then, is how does this illustration of the Slits' change of drummers from Palmolive to Budgie (from female to male) bear on discussions of female amateur musicianship in punk as well as the transition from punk to post-punk? As I indicated earlier, Palmolive possibly left the Slits for reasons other than the fact that the other three members may have been dissatisfied with her playing. Nevertheless, Palmolive's playing and many of the Slits' earlier more amateur-sounding recordings rose to the DIY challenge of punk by exhibiting or performing the kind of amateurism that journalists such as Coon and Jones celebrated, and guitarists such as Albertine admired in the Sex Pistols. As exemplified

by the 1977 Peel version of “Newtown,” the instrumental parts were simple and performed haphazardly with an unstable sense of meter. But, as illustrated by the 1979 version of “Newtown” from *Cut*, their later recordings were more polished and showed more intricate attention to detail. It could be argued, then, that the Slits’ transition from Palmolive to Budgie in fact marks a turn in genre: from punk to post-punk, from a rough amateurish DIY style to a reggae-inflected, more polished performance with a solid groove that foregrounded studio techniques and complex drumming. This change of drummer and change of musical genre, therefore, illuminates the ambiguity between amateurism as a desired performative mode and amateurism as an unwanted lack of musical skill.

But what makes this transition from one genre (or style) to another problematic is the fact it was accompanied by the replacement of a female drummer by a male drummer. Of course, Palmolive’s drumming does not represent the epitome of female musicianship, but it seems nonetheless significant that her amateurish drumming was acceptable, even desirable in punk, but problematic when the band changed their musical style; to recall Needs’ comments, Palmolive’s drumming “wasn’t up to the increasingly stringent demands imposed on it by the Slits’ wildly rhythmic new songs.” Having said that, it is not absolutely clear whether the idea for the stylistic shift came before Palmolive was replaced, or whether this stylistic shift came about because Palmolive was replaced.<sup>43</sup>

Significantly, the notion that a male pair of hands was necessary to deliver the Slits from punk to post-punk can also be traced in some of the press reviews of *Cut*. For example, journalist John Orme at *Melody Maker* suggested that it was Bovell, their producer’s “wisdom” that had brought the Slits’ music to full fruition. “The tireless patience of producer/control-king Dennis Bovell,” wrote Orme, “has freed depths of musical resource that only the Slits’ most ardent admirers would have recognised.” Orme concludes that the Slits and Bovell had made *Cut* “together,” but nevertheless implied that a significant amount of creative control was in Bovell’s hands and that without him the Slits’ talents were only be

discernible to their most loyal fans.<sup>44</sup> Despite replacing Palmolive with Budgie, and despite the fact that journalists such as Orme put Bovell in the role of the clear-headed genius come to sort out the women's "rabble," the Slits remained an all-female-identified group, keen to emphasise that Budgie was "not a full-time" Slit—as the band's name hopefully suggests.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, the kind of unintentional scepticism about Palmolive's skills expressed in Needs' interviews, and Orme's insistence that Bovell saw through the Slits' unwieldiness, exemplify the caution with which male writers in the media approach punk women. As such, it exemplifies the double bind of punk amateurism. Furthermore, it highlights the complex and ambiguous mutation of amateurism in relation to both gender and genre: for the Slits, Palmolive's unconventional drumming was part of a generic choice and performative mode as a punk band; but as a post-punk band, this aesthetic was less desirable and Palmolive's unconventional drumming style therefore fell silent.

### ***Taming Lora Logic's "Chaotic" Polyphony***

The extent to which the Slits' groove became male-associated as they moved from punk to post-punk, from a female drummer to a more competent male drummer, was also something that occurred with other post-punk bands. This male gendering of rhythm and groove in post-punk also influenced the way in which critics understood post-punk women's creativity. In her work on female musicians in the Montréal independent music scene, Vanessa Blais-Tremblay has observed that there exists a pervasive assumption or prejudice that women cannot "groove."<sup>46</sup> Indeed, it is not uncommon to encounter descriptions of female musicians who have been described as having no sense of rhythm. John Cale of the Velvet Underground, for example, famously said that giving Nico a tambourine to play was a terrible decision because of her "unique" (read: poor) sense of rhythm.<sup>47</sup> The gendering of rhythm and groove can also be traced in descriptions of music by post-punk vocalist and tenor saxophone-player, Lora

Logic. Richard Cook's review of Logic's 1982 solo album, *Pedigree Charm*, credits the male rhythm section with taming Logic's excessive femininity thus:

Perhaps the credit can be claimed by This Heat's Charles Hayward on drums and the guitars of Phil Legg; their no-nonsense refusal to be led down the blind tunnels in Logic's palindromic set of songs keeps things in shape while staying chipper enough to negotiate all the sharp bends and angularities.<sup>48</sup>

As in Orme's review of *Cut*, in which he regarded Bovell as the one to bring out the Slits' hidden talents, Cook seems to suggest that left to her own devices, Logic's music would be too structurally and rhythmically wayward, perhaps even "nonsense." Throughout his review Cook also drew on the tropes of woman-as-nature and woman-as-chaos, presenting Logic as a siren in danger of leading the male rhythm section down "blind tunnels." In this particular instance, Logic's amateurism therefore figures as a kind of excess; an unwanted spilling over that the male rhythm section must contain, much in the way "noise" has the potential to be pejoratively gendered feminine.<sup>49</sup>

Indeed, listening closely to one of the songs that Cook praises on *Pedigree Charm*, "Brute Fury," one might hear a simplistic gender binary in the song's texture. The song opens with a minimalist-sounding chorus of three tenor saxophones, which begin by playing homo-rhythmically before breaking out into a quasi-canon. These parts are presumably played and over-dubbed by Logic herself. Following the opening saxophone chorus, Hayward and Legg's tight disco groove fades in. Then, juxtaposed against the bouncy disco backing, two tenor saxophones (presumably over-dubbed by Logic again) accompany Logic's vocal. The two saxophones play different, at times dissonant, ostinato-like melodies, providing counterpoint to Logic's vocal (see Ex. 1.3). Logic's sax-voice polyphony therefore contrasts

Hayward and Legg's tight rhythm playing. Following Cook's heavily gendered logic, we might argue that Logic's polyphonic, chaotic-seeming amateurish excess is tamed by strict, on-beat male musicianship.

**Ex. 1.3** The vocal part for the chorus section of “Brute Fury” by Lora Logic, accompanied by two tenor saxophones. This section can be heard at 0:49 – 1:24 on the album *Pedigree Charm*.

The musical score is presented in four systems, each containing a vocal line and two tenor saxophone accompaniment lines. The time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are as follows:

System 1: Fu - ry, \_\_\_\_\_ brute fu - ry - They could-n't find the

System 2: ans-wers They could-n't find the ans-wers Fu - ry, \_\_\_\_\_ brute

System 3: fu - ry - They could-n't find the ans-wers They could-n't find the

System 4: ans-wers That they want-ed to That they want-ed to

Vibrato markings ('vib.') are placed above the vocal line in measures 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 101, 103, 105, 107, 109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137, 139, 141, 143, 145, 147, 149, 151, 153, 155, 157, 159, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169, 171, 173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 195, 197, 199, 201, 203, 205, 207, 209, 211, 213, 215, 217, 219, 221, 223, 225, 227, 229, 231, 233, 235, 237, 239, 241, 243, 245, 247, 249, 251, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 263, 265, 267, 269, 271, 273, 275, 277, 279, 281, 283, 285, 287, 289, 291, 293, 295, 297, 299, 301, 303, 305, 307, 309, 311, 313, 315, 317, 319, 321, 323, 325, 327, 329, 331, 333, 335, 337, 339, 341, 343, 345, 347, 349, 351, 353, 355, 357, 359, 361, 363, 365, 367, 369, 371, 373, 375, 377, 379, 381, 383, 385, 387, 389, 391, 393, 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795, 797, 799, 801, 803, 805, 807, 809, 811, 813, 815, 817, 819, 821, 823, 825, 827, 829, 831, 833, 835, 837, 839, 841, 843, 845, 847, 849, 851, 853, 855, 857, 859, 861, 863, 865, 867, 869, 871, 873, 875, 877, 879, 881, 883, 885, 887, 889, 891, 893, 895, 897, 899, 901, 903, 905, 907, 909, 911, 913, 915, 917, 919, 921, 923, 925, 927, 929, 931, 933, 935, 937, 939, 941, 943, 945, 947, 949, 951, 953, 955, 957, 959, 961, 963, 965, 967, 969, 971, 973, 975, 977, 979, 981, 983, 985, 987, 989, 991, 993, 995, 997, 999, 1001, 1003, 1005, 1007, 1009, 1011, 1013, 1015, 1017, 1019, 1021, 1023, 1025, 1027, 1029, 1031, 1033, 1035, 1037, 1039, 1041, 1043, 1045, 1047, 1049, 1051, 1053, 1055, 1057, 1059, 1061, 1063, 1065, 1067, 1069, 1071, 1073, 1075, 1077, 1079, 1081, 1083, 1085, 1087, 1089, 1091, 1093, 1095, 1097, 1099, 1101, 1103, 1105, 1107, 1109, 1111, 1113, 1115, 1117, 1119, 1121, 1123, 1125, 1127, 1129, 1131, 1133, 1135, 1137, 1139, 1141, 1143, 1145, 1147, 1149, 1151, 1153, 1155, 1157, 1159, 1161, 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3819, 3821, 3823, 3825, 3827, 3829, 3831, 3833, 3835, 3837, 3839, 3841, 3843, 3845, 3847, 3849, 3851, 3853, 3855, 3857, 3859, 3861, 3863, 3865, 3867, 3869, 3871, 3873, 3875, 3877, 3879, 3881, 3883, 3885, 3887, 3889, 3891, 3893, 3895, 3897, 3899, 3901, 3903, 3905, 3907, 3909, 3911, 3913, 3915, 3917, 3919, 3921, 3923, 3925, 3927, 3929, 3931, 3933, 3935, 3937, 3939, 3941, 3943, 3945, 3947, 3949, 3951, 3953, 3955, 3957, 3959, 3961, 3963, 3965, 3967, 3969, 3971, 3973, 3975, 3977, 3979, 3981, 3983, 3985, 3987, 3989, 3991, 3993, 3995, 3997, 3999, 4001, 4003, 4005, 4007, 4009, 4011, 4013, 4015, 4017, 4019, 4021, 4023, 4025, 4027, 4029, 4031, 4033, 4035, 4037, 4039, 4041, 4043, 4045, 4047, 4049, 4051, 4053, 4055, 4057, 4059, 4061, 4063, 4065, 4067, 4069, 4071, 4073, 4075, 4077, 4079, 4081, 4083, 4085, 4087, 4089, 4091, 4093, 4095, 4097, 4099, 4101, 4103, 4105, 4107, 4109, 4111, 4113, 4115, 4117, 4119, 4121, 4123, 4125, 4127, 4129, 4131, 4133, 4135, 4137, 4139, 4141, 4143, 4145, 4147, 4149, 4

Of course, this interpretation of “Brute Fury,” wherein Logic represents the wayward polyphonic free spirit and Hayward-Legg represent the rhythmic grounding of the song relies on essentialism and re-inscribes a simple gender binary, drawn from discursive tendencies that emphasise women’s lack of rhythm or sense of “groove.” As with the Slits, then, is it more productive to see the song terms of genre rather than gender?

The 1979 song “Death Disco” by the all-male group Public Image Ltd. presents a similarly characteristically post-punk blend of groovy disco and chaotic-seeming punk as the one exemplified by “Brute Fury.” In “Death Disco,” singer John Lydon screeches over a frantic disco beat, and his lyrics, with their evocations of Lydon’s mother’s death, run contrary to the connotations of hedonism disco held in the mainstream imaginary at the time. Similarly, Logic’s lyrics in the song’s B-section of “Brute Fury” may be interpreted as describing a gendered domestic dispute and as therefore articulating a broadly feminist politics. Logic appears to be singing about her male partner’s inability to control his temper, and her partner is depicted metaphorically (and ambiguously) as her “empire” or “emperor,” and she sarcastically bemoans the fact he now “has a headache” (see Ex. 1.4).

Both Lydon and Logic, therefore, bring “alien” subject matter into the “hegemonic” frame of disco, death in the case of PiL and the sarcastic recollection of a domestic dispute in the case of Logic. Running against the grain of Cook’s *NME* review, then, highlighting the similarities between these two songs allows us to see chaos-meets-groove as more of a decision at the level of genre, rather than a fact of essential gender difference. With Logic, chaotic polyphony figures as amateurism-as-technique (or even texture), as opposed to being an essential condition of her female sensibility.



**Ex. 1.4** Lyrics for the verse or B-section in “Brute Fury” by Lora Logic.

And my empire cries x2

That he has a temper, a temper, a temper

And now he has a headache

If only he’d been stronger, and wiser, and stronger

That he has a headache

If only they’d been calmer, and kinder, and calmer

Now he has a headache

### ***The Raincoats Against Rock Convention***

The gendering of the rhythm section that may be gleaned from the discussions of both the Slits and Lora Logic was also evident in media discussions of my final case study, the Raincoats. A *ZigZag* interview with the Raincoats in 1980 described their live performances as follows:

To see the Raincoats on stage for the first time is to see beauty emerge out of *apparent chaos*. I mean, they all seem to *start at different times* and they all seem to be playing something different, and *the rhythm never seems to stay constant* for half a minute at a time, and it’s not your average everyday platic (sic) mac sort of rhythm to start off with.

But then, if you listen, everything suddenly clicks into place, and you realise how remarkable it really is. Careful thought that develops inspiration rather than being a heavy-handed substitute for it. An *abandonment of the traditional rock structures* that,

unlike with a good many other bands, does not lead to tedium and superficial would-be freakiness (my emphasis).<sup>50</sup>

In addition to the unnamed reviewer's comments about the rhythm (they "start at different times" and "the rhythm never seems to stay constant"), it seems as though the reviewer also thought the Raincoats' lack of conventional musical skill was their most appealing feature as, from here, imaginative musical inventions could emerge.<sup>51</sup> The above *ZigZag* commentary therefore brings together three aspects of our discussion so far: first, the band's music displayed a lack of, or a disregard for, rock conventions; secondly, this lack of rock convention was heard as inaugurating new approaches to playing rock and punk; and thirdly, their approach to rhythm in particular was highlighted as an important divergence from rock expectations. In the section that follows, I outline how the Raincoats' music may have at times sounded like "apparent chaos" (as suggested by the *ZigZag* review), identify some of the ways in which they "abandoned rock structures," and consider how this squares with the larger argument concerning the tension between amateurism as performative mode and amateurism as a lack of conventional technique.

The Raincoats' song "Adventures Close to Home" from their 1979 self-titled LP is one of their least conventional-sounding songs and, importantly, it exhibits a number of the characteristics that were described in the 1980 *ZigZag* review. Rather than trying to hear the song as having continuous groove, the structure of the song might be better understood as being divided into blocks or units that each have their own rhythmic profile (although this is not to be confused with the Western classical description of 'block form'). The effect of these juxtaposed rhythmic units is one in which, recalling the above review, "the rhythm never seems to stay constant."

The first groove is established with the bass guitar and rhythm guitar. The bass plays straight eighth notes that are punctuated by the rhythm guitarists' quasi-reggae "skank," alternating measure-by-measure between areas D major and B minor. After two full measures of this bass and rhythm groove, Palmolive enters with her idiosyncratic tom playing: a very on-beat pattern beginning with a group of sixteenth notes (see Ex. 1.5).

**Ex. 1.5** “Adventures Close to Home” by the Raincoats, mm. 4-6

Voice

Pa - ssion-ate shouts I'm red with ang - er I lost my self

Electric Guitar

Bass Guitar

Drum Set

After three measures of this pattern, the rhythmic focus shifts from lilting syncopation to a measure that almost feels as though we're hearing two measures of 2/4, where the bass player plays exactly the same rhythm as the drummer (see Ex. 1.7).

**Ex. 1.7** "Adventures Close to Home," m. 10

Voice

Through all - eys of mys - ter - y

Electric Guitar

Bass Guitar

Drum Set

The next phrase, or unit, is nine beats long. In my illustration, however, I have divided this phrase into two measures, one in 4/4 and the other in 5/4, since the bass part seems to be articulating a downbeat into the measure in 5/4 (1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 5). But it could also be heard as a phrase in 9/4, especially

because the drums confuse the meter by dividing the nine-beat phrase differently, into a group of 3 + 4 + 2 (Ex. 1.8).

**Ex. 1.8** “Adventures Close to Home” showing the drums, electric guitar, bass, and vocals, mm. 11-12

The musical score for measures 11-12 of "Adventures Close to Home" features three staves: Voice, Bass Guitar, and Drum Set. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The vocal line in measure 11 consists of eighth notes: C4, D4, E4, F#4, G4, A4, B4, C5, followed by a quarter rest. The lyrics "I went up and do - wn" are aligned with these notes. In measure 12, the vocal line continues with eighth notes: D5, C5, B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4, D4, followed by a quarter rest. The lyrics "Like a de - ment - ed train" are aligned with these notes. The bass guitar line in measure 11 has a half note C3 and a half note F#3. In measure 12, it has a half note A2 and a half note D3. The drum set line in measure 11 shows a pattern of eighth notes: C, D, E, F, G, A, B, C, followed by a quarter rest. In measure 12, it shows a pattern of eighth notes: D, E, F, G, A, B, C, D, followed by a quarter rest.

The song returns to a less ambiguous sense of 4/4 meter at measure 13 (the beginning of the chorus) with a wispy-sounding sixteenth-note cymbal roll and a chromatically ascending bass part (see Ex. 1.9) that catalyses a kind of vocal canon before the song eventually returns to the offbeat rhythmic groove heard at the beginning (see Example 1.5).

**Ex. 1.9** The chromatic bass line and return to 4/4 in “Adventures Close to Home”

The musical score for the chromatic bass line in measure 13 of "Adventures Close to Home" is shown in a single staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The bass line consists of a series of eighth notes: C3, D3, E3, F#3, G3, A3, B3, C4, followed by a quarter rest.

Even though, ostensibly, the Raincoats use a conventional rock structure in “Adventures Close to Home”—that is, they use verse-chorus alternation—the song’s structure is not immediately obvious nor does it sound at all conventional. Indeed, the song sounds more like “apparent chaos,” to recall the

*ZigZag* review. This sense of “apparent chaos” owes in large part to the additive character of the song’s composition: the song seems to be assembled using brief “units” of unequal length that are each characterised by their own distinctive sense of rhythm or groove despite the fact that, interestingly enough, units one, two, and six have exactly the same drumming pattern (although it is played on different parts of the kit each time). The addition of a measure in 5/4 (or 9/4, depending on how one parses the measures) also contributes to the song’s rhythmic eccentricity. The *ZigZag* reviewer’s comment that “the rhythm never seems to stay constant for half a minute at a time,” when applied to this particular song, then, seems like a bit of an understatement: in fact, the rhythm does not remain constant for more than a few measures at a time.

What these irregular time signatures mean at the levels of both gender and genre, and the mutating status of amateurism, are issues I shall return to shortly. But first I want to stress another important point concerning the role played by the individual instruments in “Adventures Close to Home.” Unusually, in both the verse and the chorus sections, the bass, the guitar(s), and the vocal parts sound less as though they are individual voices serving a particular function, and more like fractals of a single idea. As I have already indicated, for example, all of the “voices” in the verse have a similar rhythmic profile: all “aim” for the second half of the third beat (see Ex. 1.6), creating a kind of rhythmic homogeneity with only minor variations in each part. Furthermore, the pitch content of the bass line and the voice part especially are very similar in the verse, and in the chorus, the bass plays along with the vocalist(s). The bass not only functions as more of a melody instrument, therefore, but also mirrors the role of the singer(s).

This approach to the different musical lines interfaces with issues of both gender, genre, and musical amateurism in several ways. First of all, there is something amateur-seeming about this approach to the individual instrumental lines, a sense of “if we all play the same notes then it will sound OK.”

Furthermore, this amateurishness seems more exaggerated, more unconventional, than other autodidact rock, punk, and post-punk musicians whose rhythmic structures tended to follow more straight-forward divisions of 4/4 meter. Secondly, the division of instrumental roles *could* be heard from a feminist-political perspective: the Raincoats' eschew the conventional sense of hierarchy associated with rock music (wherein the lead leads, the bass supports, the vocalist sings the melody, etc.) by choosing to distribute the same basic idea amongst the band members somewhat equally. Thirdly, by abandoning punk or rock conventions, the Raincoats' music falls more easily within the eclectic ethos that has come to be associated with post-punk, rather than punk.

In her article, "The Raincoats: Breaking Down Punk Rock Masculinities," Caroline O'Meara acknowledges the fact that the Raincoats resisted the labels "female" and "feminist," but argues nevertheless that the Raincoats' music exhibited a broadly feminist sensibility and, therefore, seeks to unravel "how the Raincoats' interest in feminism resulted in music that questions masculine assumptions and formulations in rock music."<sup>53</sup> O'Meara argues that the Raincoats' departure from generic conventions and expectations (as illustrated in my analysis of "Adventures Close to Home") are "crucial to an understanding of how their music can represent gender difference," arguing that the Raincoats' music "generally eschews common badges of musical masculinity" such as guitar solos or the "pounding thrusts" of a rock beat.<sup>54</sup>

In many ways, O'Meara's feminist analysis of the Raincoats' music echoes ideas discussed by Simon Frith and Angela McRobbie in their 1979 essay, "Rock and Sexuality." Frith and McRobbie noted that, "[some] feminists have argued that rock is now essentially a male form of expression, that for women to make non-sexist music it is necessary to use sounds, structures, and styles that cannot be heard as rock."<sup>55</sup> In her analyses of the Raincoats, O'Meara looks at the "specific modes the band uses to represent femininity in music," modes that did not derive from the masculine-coded gestures associated



with rock.<sup>56</sup> In other words, O'Meara interprets the Raincoats' rejection of the rock idiom as a feminist gesture by drawing attention to the "masculine" character of the musical codes. Similarly, the kinds of unconventional approaches to song writing heard in "Adventures Close to Home" could be heard as feminist in the sense that they are disassociated from the male language of rock.

However, this interpretation depends on a limited and homogenised understanding of what constitutes female identity in rock subgenres and the way such identity is expressed in (abstract) musical terms.<sup>57</sup> It risks aligning amateurish, unidiomatic music making with female identity, and a competent grasp of idiom with male music making. I would therefore like to look laterally at post-punk's generic neighbours, to their female contemporaries in other genres, to examine how the use of so-called "masculine" rock codes did not necessarily entail musical drag but was an "always already" aspect of female-identified musical performers. And suggest, therefore, that the Slits, Lora Logic, and the Raincoats' unconventional approach to song writing and performance owes more to their post-punk genre than to their gender.

### ***"Female Masculinity" in Non-Punk Genres***

In his work on glam rock, Philip Auslander takes a queer-informed look at the argument that rock's gestures have come to represent a stereotypically Western view of masculinity and an attendant misogynist politics. Auslander highlights the fact that several female musicians of the mid-1970s, such as Suzi Quatro, participated in what he (after scholar Jack [Judith] Halberstam) calls "female masculinity." Auslander describes "female masculinity" as not simply the emulation of masculine-coded musical gestures but more of "a refusal on the part of masculine women to repress that aspect of themselves in favour of the masquerade of normative femininity."<sup>58</sup> This notion of "female masculinity" could also be used to address the exclusion of prominent black women musicians in rock histories whose

noisiness was central to their aesthetic and a vital contribution to guitar-based genres, such as Sister Rosetta Tharpe.

The mid-1970s LA group the Runaways is one example of an all-female group who participated in the so-called “masculine” codes of the hard rock genre. The rhythmic profile of the Runaway’s 1977 song “Queens of Noise,” for example, features the “pounding” eighth notes that O’Meara (with reference to Robert Walser) interpreted as being male-coded.<sup>59</sup> The lyrics are also a lot simpler than the often detail-laden anecdotal and metaphorical style cultivated by the Slits, Logic, or the Raincoats. “Queens of Noise” also contains an oblique reference to the lyrics of Marc Bolan’s “20th Century Boy” (“Twentieth-century boy, I wanna be your toy”) in its chorus, “We’re the queens of noise, come and get it boys. Queens of noise, not just one of your toys.” Arguably this chorus articulates defiance in the face of objectification. “Queens of Noise” also has a limited harmonic palette that is more characteristic of the hard rock style than any of the songs by the Slits, Logic or the Raincoats mentioned above; it is based entirely upon power chords moving by intervals of seconds, fourths, and fifths. The band’s onstage performance style also included the kind of pelvic thrusting and flying kicks that are associated with hard rock, and their clothes for some of their live performances borrowed from glam and hard rock, sporting long hair, silver jump suits, and knee-high platform boots.

Significantly, the Slits rejected comparisons with the Runaways. When asked by Needs what they thought of their female contemporaries, Up stated that the Runaways in particular were “full of shit,” though she did not elaborate as to why.<sup>60</sup> Up may have dismissed the Runaways because she did not like the music they played, which was not only in a different genre from the reggae-styled post-punk the Slits favoured but, as highlighted by Frith, McRobbie, and O’Meara, could also be construed as an anti-feminist capitulation to and collusion with male-associated modes of musical expression. But Up may also have been aware of the Runaways’ reputation as objects of male desire, something that the so-called

post-punk “demystification set” explicitly fought against in interviews and songs, thus framing the Runaways’ “female masculinity” as fake or, indeed, “full of shit.”

In his review of a Runaways’ concert at Sheffield University in 1977, for example, Chris Brazier noted the Runaways’ reputation as having been manufactured for their sex appeal by manager Kim Fowley:

It says a lot about current attitudes to women that the only all-girl band to make it on any significant scale has been the Runaways, chosen by former mentor Kim Fowley as much for their jailbait rating as for their musical prowess.<sup>61</sup>

Brazier’s review not only highlighted the way the Runaways’ were objectified, but it also reminds us of the pervasive anxiety about whether or not female musicians can exhibit “musical prowess,” as I discussed with reference to Paton’s dismissal of Patti Smith’s inability to “play properly” and the recurrent references to both the Slits and the Raincoats minimal musical skill, and Logic’s musical chaos.

The extent to which Brazier’s comments about the members of the Runaways being chosen for their “jailbait rating” were accurate can be discerned in an interview with the band members themselves in another *Melody Maker* feature also from November 1977. In the interview with Harvey Kubernik, guitar players Lita Ford and Joan Jett discussed the recent departures of bassist Jackie Fox and singer Cherie Currie from the group, with Jett having now taken over the lead vocal responsibilities. Ford mentioned how she was “upset” because audiences and the media often failed to take the band seriously and treated them as a mere “novelty.” At the same time, however, Ford also noted how Fowley told their new bassist, Vicky Blue, to “lose weight if you wanna be in this band. No one wants to see a female

version of Randy Bachman.”<sup>62</sup> Fowley’s insidious “advice” to Blue, which implied the Runaways’ main appeal was physical attractiveness, was also contradicted by Jett who remarked in the same interview that the “band wasn’t put together for sexual purposes, we play music, we give good shows and work real hard.” Furthermore, Jett was not only frustrated with the assumption that women could not play rock music but, significantly, she seemed to want to re-align herself with the emerging punk scene. In the same interview, she suggested she felt “an affinity with the new wave bands” because they also “wanted to be heard” (rather than seen). In the magazine, she is also pictured wearing a Sex Pistols t-shirt, further underlining this allegiance with punk/new wave.<sup>63</sup>

In other words, following their change of personnel and the departure of Currie (who Brazier described as “more of a freak side show with her stripper’s corset”), the band wanted to move towards the new wave, a genre that had a more explicitly feminist agenda even if its practitioners rejected the label “feminist.” What this also suggests is that punk, new wave, and post-punk were attractive to women such as Jett and her fellow Runaways because they were as spaces of experimentation and non-disciplined gender, wherein they could shed their restrictive status as sex objects or as a novelty musicians.<sup>64</sup>

Turning from LA hard rock to mainstream pop of the era, similar kinds of gender and music policing were operative. In light of the idea that the confluence of second-wave feminism and punk allowed women to assume non-female musical roles, Karen Carpenter’s somewhat secret history as a drummer provides an example of a contemporaneous female musician whose genre (gender?) did not permit her pursue her musical interests.<sup>65</sup> The mid-1970s saw Carpenter perform a number of televised novelty-style drum “workshops.” The workshops were intended to showcase Carpenter’s drumming and to tell the story of how she came to learn and acquire the instrument. The television “workshops”

function as a testament to the perceived deviant nature of Carpenter's affinity for and deftness with such a male-associated instrument.

In these television appearances, Carpenter's skills are framed as a novelty and comments in the narration, delivered by her brother Richard Carpenter, highlight the extent to which women have been systematically excluded from such male-gendered activities. Richard's commentaries included sound bites such as "girls don't play drums" and in the footage Karen seems to be palpably frustrated at being made to perform in such an obvious novelty fashion.<sup>66</sup> The fact that Carpenter is better known as a singer encourages one question the extent to which her musical preferences were disciplined according to the gender norms and expectations of the pop genre, and her anorexia and early death further illustrate the fatal demands imposed on women's bodies by mid-1970s mainstream culture. The adoption of Carpenter as a tragic icon by alternative noise act Sonic Youth is further evidence of the idea that she should have been, or was in fact, punk.

The examples of Carpenter and the Runaways demonstrate how women musicians in the non-punk-derived genres of the mid-1970s were discursively "prohibited" from realising their "rock" aspirations; Carpenter's drumming was seen as a cute novelty; and the Runaways, particularly Jett, could not be taken seriously as musicians even though, like Quatro, they did not suppress their female masculinity. Punk, by contrast, was a space in which these kinds of creative possibilities could be realised. What is notable here, furthermore, is the extent to which rock history at this time may have occluded important contributions and earlier performances of so-called "female masculinity" by performers such as Sister Rosetta Tharpe, Willie Mae "Big Mama" Thornton, Wanda Jackson, and the kind of amateurish style purveyed by 1960s female garage bands such as the Luv'd Ones and the Shaggs, to name but a few. Punk and post-punk women may therefore be said to have performed amateurism as a way to resist this disciplining of the female body and voice; these genres reinstated a space for women to

perform either the haphazardness that had either become male dominated in rock or was off-limits in other genres.<sup>67</sup> In short, then, can we re-consider and add nuance to the historiographic claim that (post-) punk amateurism opened the door to women, and suggest something more along the lines of (post-) punk amateurism opening the door to women (and people) who couldn't play idiomatically because its aesthetic was experimental, haphazard, and non-disciplined?

### ***Conclusion***

In the song “Come Again” by mixed-gender post-punk group the Au Pairs, female lead singer Lesley Woods and fellow band member Paul Foad play the part of a “couple who are attempting to make sex more reciprocal and mutually satisfactory, only to find themselves entrapped in another set of expectations.”<sup>68</sup> On two occasions during the album version of the song (from *Playing With a Different Sex*, 1981) Foad shakily seeks assurance, asking: “Am I doing it right?” and “Do you like this, like it like this?” Cutting Foad short of his questioning, Woods, in strident voice, poses the potentially devastating question: “Is your finger aching? I can feel you hesitating,” hollering and repeating, “Is your finger aching?” at the song’s three-quarter-mark climax as the band careens towards the instrumental break.

Woods’ lyric is significant for the way in which it reclaims power and agency over the female body, putting female sexual pleasure back into the literal hands (fingers) of women, and blowing open the hitherto unspoken truth that some may not be able to “master” female genitalia. Woods’ lyric, accompanied by a deft grasp of the post-punk idiom in her guitar playing, serves as an effective analogy for the reclamation of power that punk and post-punk’s female musicians enacted by assuming the positions of drummer and guitarist specifically, and by creatively performing to or within the expectations of aesthetic amateurism.

As Reddington has illustrated, male rock critics mocked post-punk bassists Tina Weymouth, for “worriedly” checking her fingers, and Gaye Black for watching where she put hers.<sup>69</sup> Thus, stealthily

inserted into the hitherto masculine world of rock that has both covertly and overtly insisted that female musicians will always be amateurs in certain fields or genres, Woods' lyric playfully suggests that there are other skills that require comparable degrees of manual dexterity, precision, patience, stamina, access to and familiarity with the right equipment that some may never acquire. The sarcastic, symbolic castration enacted by Woods' lyric is a powerful metaphor for understanding the kind of humiliation experienced by musicians such as Weymouth, Gaye, and also Patti Smith, the Slits, Lora Logic, the Raincoats, and even Karen Carpenter, whom cultural gatekeepers (male and female) implied were either incompetent, or whose implicitly natural musical whimsy—such as an inability to keep time—became the key to new artistic terrain.

The fact that these women did not use conventional rock or at times even punk approaches should not necessarily be heard as an expression of their essential femininity, female incompetence, or even as a resistance to “masculine” rock convention but, rather, as a realisation of the kinds of possibilities afforded by conspicuous amateurism in the (post-) punk field. The crucial nuance here is that punk amateurism did not call to women musicians because of their biological inability to play nor perhaps solely because of the history of systemic exclusion, but because the aesthetic and performative language of amateurism offered an important space of play for women whose musical voices and bodies had hitherto, and in other genres, been so stringently policed.

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<sup>1</sup> Maureen Paton, “Patti Smith,” *Melody Maker*, October 30, 1976, 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Caroline Coon, “Punk Rock: Rebels Against the System,” *Melody Maker*, August 7, 1976, 24-5. In another article from November 1976, Coon noted how punk was a genre that valued women's participation. She wrote, “For the first time ever, a culture is developing which is not, like mods and rockers, dominated by males. Post-hippie equality and trans-

sexuality are a nearly fully-realised fact of life.” She listed as notable punk women: Judy Nylon, Chrissie Hynde Vivienne Westwood, Viv Albertine and Siouxsie Sioux. See Caroline Coon, “Punk Alphabet,” *Melody Maker*, November 27, 1976, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Allan Jones, “But Does Nihilism Constitute Revolt?” *Melody Maker*, August 7, 1976, 24-5.

<sup>5</sup> According to Bayton, punk “opened up a space in which women could play” because it challenged rock’s conventions. Punk’s celebration of musical ugliness, she has argued, encouraged women who may have previously lacked confidence and/or had no prior experience of playing a musical instrument that they too could be in a band. See Mavis Bayton, *Frock Rock: Women Performing Popular Music* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 63-5. O’Meara has argued that the female post-punk group the Raincoats “took advantage of punk’s unskilled performances in order to shatter the traditional (read: masculine) subjectivity in rock music, using punk’s ideology of passionate amateurism to express feminine possibilities.” See also Caroline O’Meara, “The Raincoats: Breaking Down Punk Rock’s Masculinities,” *Popular Music*, 22/3 (October 2003), esp. 299-300.

<sup>6</sup> Helen Reddington discusses the way in which female journalists often disparaged female musicians as a result of male pressure. Helen Reddington, *The Lost Women of Rock: Female Musicians of the Punk Era* (Sheffield, UK; Bristol, CT: Equinox, 2012); See Reddington, esp. 21-2 and 178-9.

<sup>7</sup> Marie Thompson, “Feminised Noise and the Dotted Line of Sonic Experimentalism,” *Contemporary Music Review* 35/1, 92.

<sup>8</sup> Simon Frith and Howard Horne, *Art into Pop* (London; New York: Methuen, 1987), 129.

<sup>9</sup> Alan Anger, “The Raincoats,” *ZigZag*, August 1978, 36.

<sup>10</sup> Zoe Street Howe, *Typical Girls? The Story of the Slits* (London; New York: Omnibus, 2009), 14.

<sup>11</sup> Viv Albertine quoted in Reddington, 46.

<sup>12</sup> Mavis Bayton, “Women and the Electric Guitar,” in *Sexing the Groove: Popular Music and Gender*, ed. Sheila Whiteley (London: Routledge, 1997), 37-40. For more on the ways in which popular musicians learn see Lucy Green, *How Popular Musicians Learn: A Way Ahead for Music Education* (Aldershot, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), esp. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Bayton, *Frock Rock*, 68-73.

<sup>14</sup> Simon Reynolds and Joy Press, *The Sex Revolts: Gender, Rebellion, and Rock ‘n’ Roll* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 233, 291-306.

<sup>15</sup> For a complete list of the women musicians and bands included in Reddington’s study see Reddington, 8. Indeed, the artists that Reynolds and Press have chosen to include may reflect their anti-pop biases, as identified by Reddington, 115.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Reddington, 182-3.

<sup>19</sup> Sherrie Tucker, *Swing Shift: “All-Girl” Bands of the 1940s* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 168.

<sup>20</sup> Reddington, 32-3, 187.

<sup>21</sup> Joanne Hollows, “Spare Rib, Second-Wave Feminism and the Politics of Consumption,” *Feminist Media Studies* 13/2 (May 2013): esp. 269-72, 281.

<sup>22</sup> Deborah Withers “Theorising the Women’s Liberation Movement as Cultural Heritage,” *Women’s History Review* 25/5, 851. See also Krista Cowman, “Carrying a Long Tradition?: Second-Wave Presentations of First-Wave Feminism in *Spare Rib* c.1972–80,” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 17/3 (2010): 193–210; and Jane Purvis, “The March of the Women,” *History Today* (Nov. 2014), 5.

<sup>22</sup> Debra Baker Beck, “The ‘F’ Word: How the Media Frame Feminism,” *NWSA Journal* 10/1 (1998): 142. See also Susan Faludi who has also noted that the bra-burning incident is a myth in *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women* (New York: Crown, 1991), 75-7.

<sup>24</sup> Kris Needs, “The Slits,” *ZigZag*, August/July 1977, 20. Reddington has also cited a 1976 letter from a female reader to *Sounds* magazine in which the letter-writer expresses an interest in playing the electric guitar. Significantly the writer seems to have found it necessary to disassociate herself from the women’s liberation movement, stating, “I’m no women’s libber.” The Raincoats’ and the Slits’ attitude therefore appears to have been part of a more widespread distrust of the feminist movement amongst young women who were interested in rock and punk. See Reddington, 24.

<sup>25</sup> Needs, “The Slits,” 20.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.



<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> The Slits were in fact only an all-female group until 1979 when their drummer Palmolive (Paloma McLardy) left and was replaced by male drummer Budgie (Peter Edward Clarke). This will be discussed in more detail shortly.

<sup>29</sup> Needs, "The Slits," 18. See also Needs, "The Slits: School Hall 5pm-5p," *ZigZag*, January 1978, 31.

<sup>30</sup> See Norma Coates, "(R)Evolution Now? Rock and the Political Potential of Gender," in *Sexing the Groove*, ed. Whiteley, 52-4. The image of folk music specifically as one of the few genres available to women was in fact echoed by Slits' guitarist Albertine, who remarked in 1979 that Chrissie Hynde was the first woman to show women "they could play guitar without be a 'wimpy folkie.'" Quoted in Vivien Goldman, "What's So Good About Natural Primitivism?" *Melody Maker*, September 8, 1979, 36.

<sup>31</sup> Bonnie Gordon, "Tori Amos' Inner Voices," in *Women's Voices Across Musical Worlds*, ed. Jane A Bernstein (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 192-4. Bayton has also discussed the kinds of topics that appear in punk and post-punk women's songs. See Bayton, *Frock Rock*, 66.

<sup>32</sup> Needs, "The Slits," 21.

<sup>33</sup> Bayton, "Women and the Electric Guitar," 42. For more on women musicians' relationship to music technology see Tara Rogers, *Pink Noises: Women on Electronic Music and Sound* (Durham, NC; Duke University Press, 2010).

<sup>34</sup> An interesting anecdote from bassist Gaye Black confirms this speculation, at least with regards to her own experience of not having the right (male) jargon. She tells Reddington that she was always frustrated by her bass sound, how it never sounded the way she wanted it to, because she did not know "technically" how to ask for it to be adjusted. See Reddington, 62.

<sup>35</sup> Needs, "The Slits," 19.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>37</sup> Reddington, 21-2. Cf. the idea of "noise" in Rodgers, *Pink Noises*.

<sup>38</sup> Needs, "The Slits—Now," *ZigZag*, April 1979, 7. For more on the role played by John Peel and his colleague John Walters, particularly concerning their promotion of the Slits and Siouxsie and the Banshees, see Reddington, 57.

<sup>39</sup> The fact that the drums are particularly male-gendered undoubtedly introduces ideas of the body and physicality into the discussion. For a critique of the gendering of physical or bodily skill see Iris Marion Young, *Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>40</sup> For the 1977 version of "Newtown," see "The Slits—Peel Session 1977," YouTube video, 9:41, posted by Vibracobra XXIII, December 1, 2013, accessed February 21, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3E-9gceMQgA>.

<sup>41</sup> Needs, "The Slits—Now," 6.

<sup>42</sup> The drum notation is as before (F kick drum, A floor tom, and C snare), but in this performance the snare is disengaged. The crosses on the G line indicate the closed hi-hat and the diamond-shaped note heads on the G line indicate the open hi-hat.

<sup>43</sup> It is worth noting that Budgie also became the new drummer with Siouxsie and the Banshees, which may have signaled a shift in musical genre/style for that group, too. An analysis of this change in personnel is beyond the scope of this article but is certainly worth considering.

<sup>44</sup> For more on Bovell's role on *Cut* see John Orme, "'Cut' (album review)," *Melody Maker*, September 1, 1979, 23. This article is also noteworthy for the gendered dynamics between Bovell (male producer) and the Slits (female musicians) that it implicitly communicates.

<sup>45</sup> Needs, "The Slits—Now," 8.

<sup>46</sup> Vanessa Blais-Tremblay, "'Montre moi c'que t'as dans les culottes!' A Review of the Scholarly Literature on Gender and Groove" (unpublished paper; McGill University 2011). See also Ingrid T. Monson, *Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and Interaction* (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1996).

<sup>47</sup> Richard Witts, *Nico: the Life and Lies of an Icon* (London: Virgin, 1993), 140.

<sup>48</sup> Richard Cook, "Where's the Logic in That Then?" *New Musical Express*, March 6, 1982, 33.

<sup>49</sup> Thompson, 90-2.

<sup>50</sup> "In A Warm Kitchenette with the Raincoats," *ZigZag*, May 1980, 19.

<sup>51</sup> This connection between musical naivety and musical invention wasn't only noted with the Raincoats. In August 1978, journalist Neil Spencer described how the Slits' surprised him with their "new forms": "It was my first and (admittedly late) Slits gig," wrote Spencer, "and I was expecting some trashy 3-chord dole queue ramalama dressed in shocking pink female guise." But what Spencer heard was a band who had, "evolved a long way from the primal punk mud of '76" and whose "musical naivety perhaps encourages a refreshing willingness to explore new forms." Neil Spencer, "Some Girls Do It Pretty Good," *New Musical Express*, August 12, 1978, 43.

<sup>52</sup> The triangulated note heads indicate a wood-block-like percussion instrument.

<sup>53</sup> “O’Meara, “Raincoats,” 299. Similarly emphasising the male-female binary, Reynolds and Press argue that the Raincoats turned to “non-phallogentric” genres such as reggae in order to challenge the masculinity of rock-based musics. See Reynolds and Press, 309-10. The gender politics and gendered meanings of reggae have yet to be extrapolated. What seems interesting, however, is the way in which Reynolds and Press implicitly disregard Jamaican culture’s history of homophobia, which arguably disturbs the assumption that reggae is a “non-phallogentric” genre.

<sup>53</sup> Reynolds and Press, 306-9.

<sup>54</sup> O’Meara, 302-3.

<sup>55</sup> Simon Frith and Angela McRobbie, “Music and Sexuality,” in *On Record: Rock, Pop, and the Written Word*, ed. Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin (New York: Pantheon, 1990), 372.

<sup>56</sup> O’Meara, 307.

<sup>57</sup> For more on expressions of gender in abstract musical terms see Susan McClary, *Music, Gender, and Sexuality*, esp. “Sexual Politics in Classical Music,” (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1991).

<sup>58</sup> Philip Auslander, *Performing Glam Rock: Gender and Theatricality in Popular Music* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 212. See also Jack (Judith) Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998).

<sup>59</sup> O’Meara, 303. See also Robert Walser, *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (Hanover, NH: University of New England Press, 1993), 109.

<sup>60</sup> Needs, “The Slits,” 20.

<sup>61</sup> Chris Brazier, “The Runaways,” *Melody Maker*, November 19, 1977, 68. Auslander discusses the objectification of teenage girls in 1960s rock culture, which may help contextualize Brazier’s “jailbait” comment. See Auslander, *Performing Glam Rock*, 211-12.

<sup>62</sup> Harvey Kubernik, “Catching the Runaways,” *Melody Maker*, November 5, 1977, 35.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> The comparison between the Runaways and their British contemporaries also draws attention to the possible tension between US and UK gender politics (highlighted earlier with reference to *Spare Rib* vs. the US “girlie issues”): the Californian climate of economic prosperity and industry-generated “fun in the sun” rhetoric contrasts sharply with London’s economic gloom and necessary DIY aesthetics.

<sup>65</sup> Significantly, Carpenter was cited by one of Reddington’s punk interviewees as an inspiration and as somebody who made playing the drums look “fun.” See Reddington, 30.

<sup>66</sup> See for example, “The Karen Carpenter Drum Workshop,” YouTube video, 6:22, posted by MagikMakyll, June 29, 2009, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F9IagAg7u5M>, accessed January 4, 2015; and “Karen Carpenter Drum Solo—1976 First Television Special,” YouTube video, 5:42, posted by CrescentNoon, March 17, 2007, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sdHyZGXAJPg>, accessed January 4, 2015.

<sup>67</sup> Butler, 91.

<sup>68</sup> Reynolds and Press, 312.

<sup>69</sup> Reddington, 49. See also Chris Salewicz, “Review of the Adverts,” *New Musical Express*, June 11, 1977, 44.